Flores OF4
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

OOF important festivals and the ancestors.

F 361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which F [351 231 343] are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or F [778 532] the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An J outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. 361 Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is 351 quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the G number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers L quite a large area.

B 361 636 797 Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
• [231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The older men have the same betel teeth. The younger men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing, however, is no longer significant here. The design I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but several of the young, go about with bare breasts. When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish. They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning of the latter term, in Indonesian].

● 231 This area is full of goats. There are also many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I saw no cattle. There are many small horses here too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing band of fine looking horses who had gone wild after escaping. They can never be recaptured. I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and asked me if I could see the spirits. They are going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when they are caught off-guard they agree that there are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with houses scattered about and the most conspicuous things being the stone graves.

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
●231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

Wai

64 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworitá	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Wa

622 624 614 796 574 231 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
Cut: Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewato Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753] The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
[291] tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes, and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[See pp. 890-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cit. 113--Analyst]

W4

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to-
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
58 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1/2] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2/3] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
614

1/2 [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
2/3 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum. The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
● 231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

We

776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) [887] Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. [276] Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment [887] was complicated and good. Most drummers and gong players seem to be old women. These

We
534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] These

At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
[292] dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

~~231~~
492 The horses here are important. Men and women
[133] ride them, but mainly the former. The whole open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

Weo

614 778 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 241 782 114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1] they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connection with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 632 651 466 624 476 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1] the people here still give tribute to the dalu when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls, etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now wants a new house he may no longer expect free labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 565 114 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi). Their descendants are still known. It is also true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

776 782 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 776 782 231 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko randang and lingko umah. The former are under the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah. The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa- [526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 782 624 231 527 The agricultural feasts are:

(1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A pig is sacrificed.

(2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
[624] has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

124 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

482 Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

302 Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
● 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

231 Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
417 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

614 We. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
●231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

Wae
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
●231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at each generation the other chimed in with a chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing holding the head of the pig (as this ama has the Kottang function in this suku); the man from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama has the Kelen function in this suku); and the man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno wudjo, but there are no more in these groups who are still pagan, so they have to use old women. I can see the same thing on the schedule: in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are very young (e.g., three or four years old) as they are not yet Christians, but others are very old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making the best of it, but what can they do when the old women are dead? The answer is found in Leloba, where they no longer are able to have rites. They have given up the suku and ama rites, but still have the kampong agricultural ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are allowed to recite the names of the ancestors. They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 ● 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

We.

684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
●231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

R

527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

●[231]

We

527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for the first weeding, if there are many mice, and for harvest. The last mentioned is the biggest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
[114] not the regular pantomime one described by Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear relation between this and the peo of Nageh and the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these are forked as though they were cut-off trees; I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang tree had had branches cut and it looked like a rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed, and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko randang must be planted every two years, because the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie fallow. At this time beasts graze there and fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 ●231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anam) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

We
538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 266 There was no head-hunting here at any time, nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 231 Note: To kill a beast the people here use a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 824 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-